231	• 613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiboron lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/16 cont./

614 613 and sublineages (ol gelat' ate). According to the religious legend, the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as sons to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its sublineages, as well as between those of the sublineages of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to unanimous reports of the Asá, Wakuafi, and Masai, is the following:

Tribe: 'L aisér.

Lineage: Eñ gidoñ or El olbonok,
" El bargenetti,
" El bartimaro;

Sublineage: El bedēs,
" El dibiliti,
" El egoio,
" El barsabuggo,
" El morinjero,
" El barsanga,
" 'L eng-adji-nanjugi,
" El gumarin,
" El barsiñgo.

Lineage: El ugumoi;

Sublineage: Es sidaio.

/17/ Tribe: El mūleljan.

Lineage: El mūgurēre;

Sublineage: El barsindē,
" El barserenjgo,
" El barsegero,
" El bartelle,
" El kibujuni,
" El barmagua.

/17 cont./

614
• 613

Lineage: El masaṅgua;
Sublineage: El muiṅgo.

Attached to the El mūleljan tribe:

Lineage: El mamasita;
Sublineage: El monáí,
" El gejaní,
" El marawasch,
" El bar-laṅata.
Lineage: El mágesan;
Sublineage: El kiborōn,
" El bartelēle.
Lineage: 'N darasero;
Sublineage: El meboní,
" El gidogu, also called 'L aisi.

Tribe: El meṅgána.

Lineage: 'L oitajuk;
Sublineage: Es seroigínigi,
" El barsois,
" 'L endjage,
" El gissikol,
" El mohono or El moschono,
" El magarau,
" El barmaṅgig,
" Es sumaga,
" El barsellé;
Lineage: El marumai;
Sublineage: El goré,
" El maguberia,
" El bodjus,
" El gurá,
" El eberet (see later IV, I),
" El merání,
" El mossedjua,
" Es siria.

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aiśĕr and El mŭleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eñg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eñg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [184]

M 613 The El bedĕs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segĕl. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 [613] [754] The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eñ gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [829]

D [791]

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening [648] of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to [755] war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [782] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [787] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical • 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] [173] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mulelian tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[57] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborõn are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborõn
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eŋg áñ, ŋg añíti or eŋg anása, ŋg anás [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eŋg adji, ŋg adjidík) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eñ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The [731] [567] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 • 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretâl, el derĕta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jĕjo.

Another wife of the father: eŋg afhji e jĕjo.

Principal wife: e' ŋgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en âltero eŋg aŋ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ŋgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîba are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; [431] [651] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

000 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) -- 595 [71]

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [601] [572] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the Il magenan and Il kiborón do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

[613]

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(el kemr) or to his age-class associates (el ngil). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the elder sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Ideal are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between father and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

Widows (el gelil; 3 gelil) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice no obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the local in which the bride's parents live.

1h Mother--69 C-5 (1906-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

In the
/it was/ lineage of the El Kiboron every newborn
boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman stream[illegible] the ensuing recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in the hut and may not enter it during the first two days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of foster brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she hand it to a woman nearby to be quieted or sets it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

/60 cont./

881 [191] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ('l arĭ omoratyĕki 'l aijĕk) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all [634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

• [613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborĕn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month,

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol [561] [191] borĕr) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the ol gebăta. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

291 142

Ill. 17. Masai boys.

/65 cont./
881
591 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

142
291
301

Ill. 13. Young Masai girls.

881
[591] mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation, the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiboshe always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks: perhaps a girl who is ready will still be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/80 cont./

714
531
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411

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Mochi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
189 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
711 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
179 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ilo gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today: thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
• 613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate I show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Amlyst]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [103] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[104] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the [121] other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that

[Warrior Kraal]

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

/88 cont./
of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701 535 291

Ill. 38. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701 578 682 [613] [614] [669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called oi arabal (pl. ei arabali), not en djóre (n djorín) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called. [192] [426]

701 574 /89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an oi hui (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/111 cont./

192 832 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says ánjŏr nalen = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ádol áde en gawarĭ = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000 The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 326 [361] [614] [613] The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal [777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/132 cont./

714 178 [237] were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Fi. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted [531] on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- [613] not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 411 482 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

411 [824] [237] The club (ol gŭmăn, el gŭmă [Fig. 35]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ol oirien and ol oiborbenek (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, 411 178 are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not [412] actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A clublike 411 [824] cudgel (es sĕre), especially out of the wood of en gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/147 cont./

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302
302

Fig. 62. (1/1)

Fig. 63. (1/1

Merker phot.

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [777] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barsegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[821] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eń ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eń ger kĕtĕ = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eń ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/167 cont./

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Meeker phot.

Ill. 58. Bull with ornamental brand.
(the G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

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capturer of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called Aherí. Other names for cows are: Narok-gonjék, blackeye, En dobiá, brown one, Mge, cream-colored one, Erok-logunja, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Súdjaro is called Le-Súdjaro, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

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[613]
/168/ Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or brand lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol meberre, el meberren, if put on the body; ol bonóto, el bonot, if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
• [613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified -- families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the same as those on the donkeys, although the latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively, only very rarely also those on the body. If a
[613] head of breeding cattle passes to an owner belonging to another lineage, it is usually given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on either side of it, one or two concentric rings on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 75) for the curing of swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped, are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn attachments are often casterized, so that they can not butt later on. This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 75.

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
764 the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot
[765] where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being.
[782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief
[791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often
[613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit
[764] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and
[737] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/202 cont./

766 [791] [613] [769] [778] stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 791 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the following: When the ol oiboni died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ca. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/207 cont./

782 [823] evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Masai and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with: 'Ng ai pasinai or 'Ng ai atomono or 'Ng ai atasaia, i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one, the left hand, while she has tied several blades around the right arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. The married men belonging to the El kiboron lineage, who often pray [613] morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I met only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and theirs healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. /208/ But these are exceptions. As a rule they content themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, tadjabage si nanu, njage e magiló = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the morning and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol aigwenani) and a benefactor ('n gamnin) go through the group,

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogom, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold [415] extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a [824] white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ [539] prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 • 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

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• 613

/210 cont./
Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

796 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [BK1] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es [illegible]), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol gererti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol gniatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumonjig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' en gabita feast. The en gogumi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgel [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en ning protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/214 cont./

628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder: composition then takes its place.

[598] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 692 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no 687 634 184 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

1lt Mother--418 G-5 (1896-ca.1968) 1910 PL13 Masai PL13

/313 cont./

Among the Masai and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

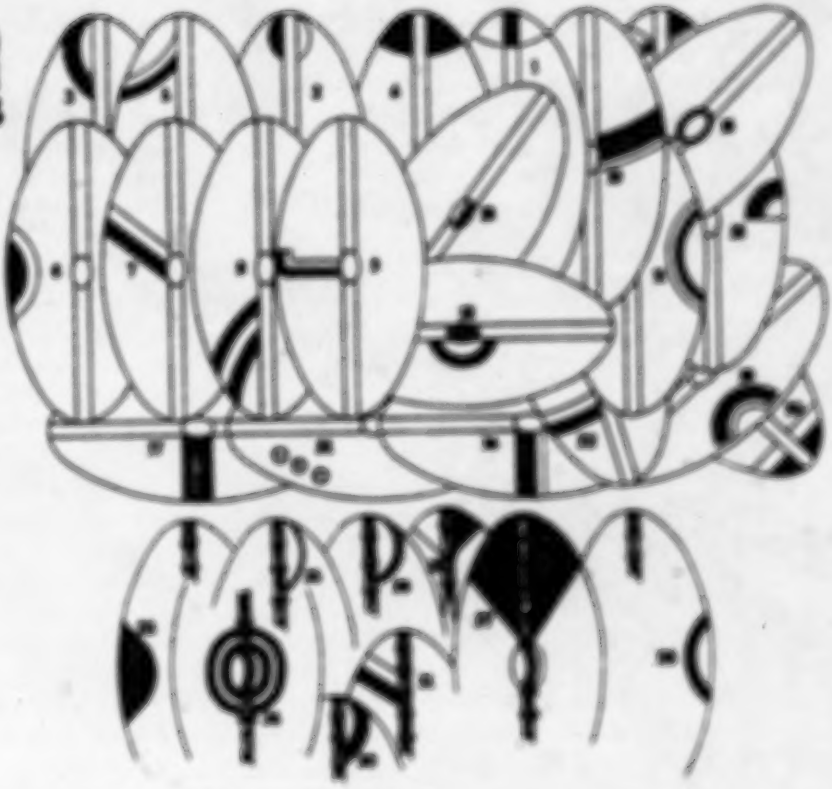
The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. Now, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation. "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Masai we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which through that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Masai this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We saw that the members of the lineage of the Il kiboron, peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first-mentioned belief in the naïve form of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illumined by his grace /313/ need not fear the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

Plate 9



Lineage Emblems on Shield.

/Left side of Plate 14/

Frequency cracks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys

/Figs. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 434/

/Right side of Plate 9a/

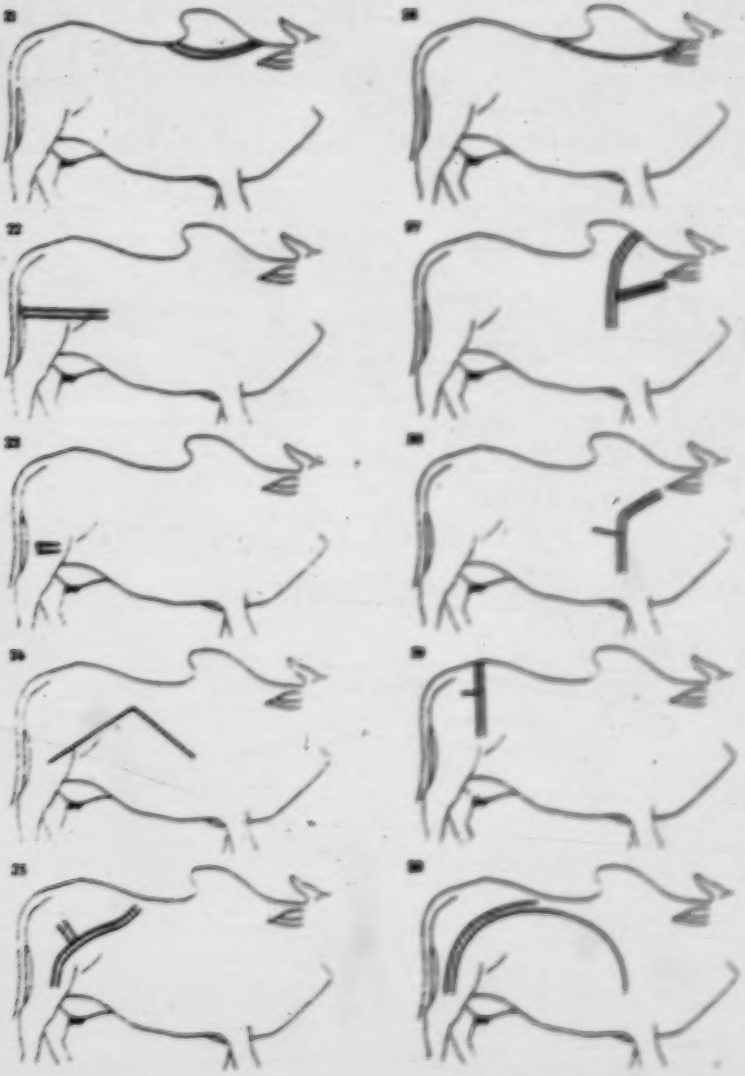
Plate 9a

/Property marks on cattle: see p. 609 for 11 and 12./

9 JS horn-cap
10 JS brand
11 JS ear-mark
12 JS dewlap
13 JS brand
14 JS ear-mark
15 JS dewlap
16 JS earmarks, JS cross

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
482
• 613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

21 *Il nayuare*
22 *Il dareware*
23 *Il [illegible]*
24 *Il [illegible]*
25 *Il barnik*
26 *Il [illegible]*
27 *Il [illegible]*
28 *Il nayuare*
29 *Il barnikiyi*
30 *Il [illegible]*
31 *Il [illegible]*
32 *Il [illegible]*

/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612./

/Right side of Plate 7h/

Plate 7h

233
422
413

/Property marks on cattle: see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

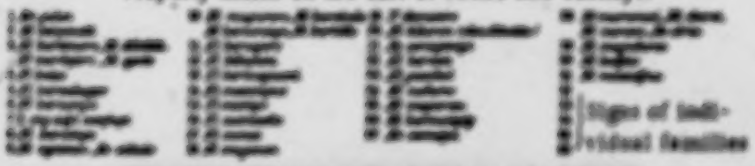
31 /Figure of individual ferrules
32 /Figure of individual ferrules

Decorative scars of bells

Plate 4

233
422
• 613

Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.



Sign 10 is also frequently found on twin animals

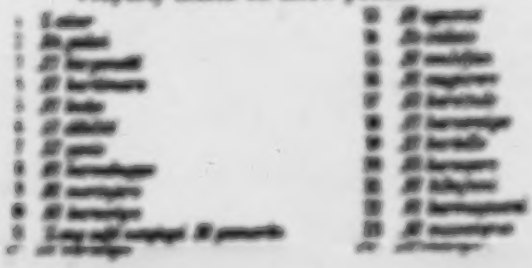
/For No. 91, <u>ohne Schnitte</u> = without cuts./

18c Marker--814 C-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Mami PL12

/Left side of Plate V

422
411
• 613

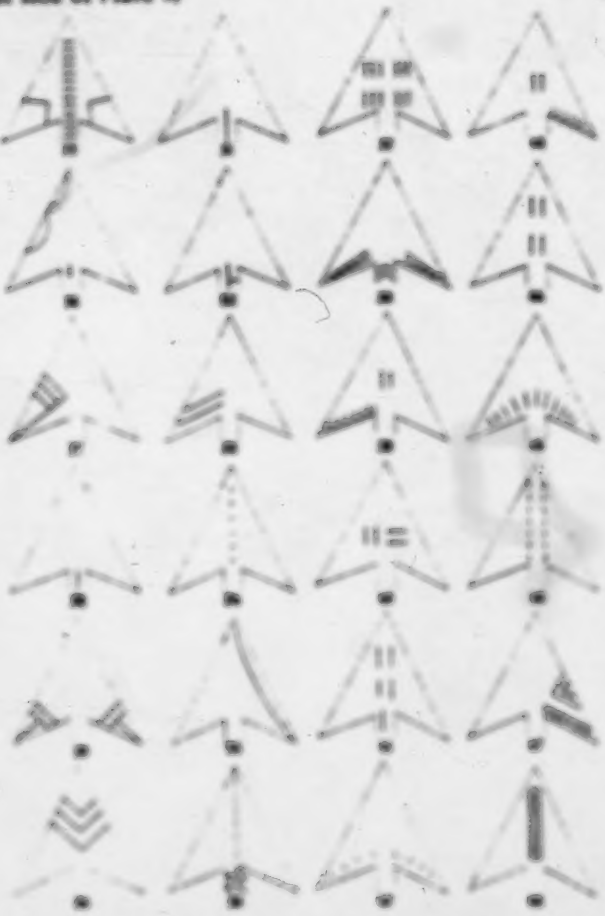
Property marks on arrow points.



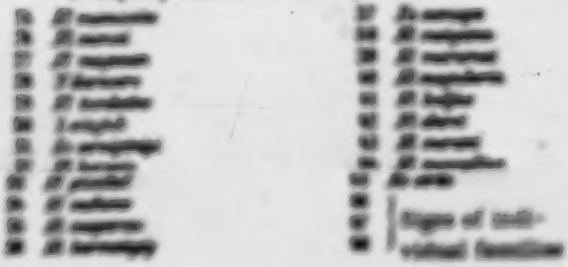
/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

922
411
213



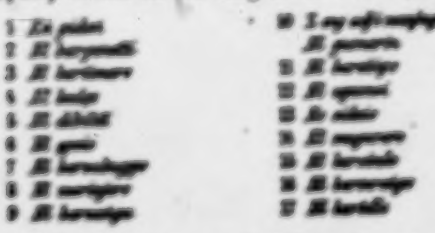
/Property marks on stone points./



/Left side of Plate 6/

422
411
613

Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.



/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 1-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

422
411
• 613

/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-28./